/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 177 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their [191] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/121 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study successively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] [496] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [991] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] 971 unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it